

Message Text

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PAGE 01 PARIS 15216 01 OF 02 211919Z

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-14 ACDA-19 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 SAJ-01 DRC-01 /135 W

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R 211906Z JUN 74

FM AMEMBASSY PARIS

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 0202

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY LISBON

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY LUXEMBOURG

AMEMBASSY OSLO

AMEMBASSY OTTAWA

AMEMBASSY REYKJAVIK

AMEMBASSY ROME

AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE

AMEMBASSY DUBLIN

AMEMBASSY BONN

USMISSION NATO

USMISSION EC BRUSSELS

USDEL MBFR VIENNA

USMISSION GENEVA

UNCLAS SECTION 01 OF 02 PARIS 15216

GENEVA FOR USDEL CSCE

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PFOR, MARR, NATO

SUBJECT: WEU ASSEMBLY -- CRITCHLEY STATEMENT AND
NATO SUMMIT

1. BECAUSE IT PROVIDES REPRESENTATIVE FLAVOR OF
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PAGE 02 PARIS 15216 01 OF 02 211919Z

MAJOR CONCERNS THAT PREOCCUPY EUROPEANS AS THEY

APPROACH JUNE 26 NATO SUMMIT MEETING, WE ARE REPORTING KEY PORTIONS OF STATEMENT MADE BY JULIAN CRITCHLEY (UK CONSERVATIVE MP) IN INTRODUCING HIS REPORT TO WESTERN EUROPEAN UNION ASSEMBLY JUNE 19 DEALING WITH CONSULTATIONS AND DECISIONS IN THE ATLANTIC ALLIANCE.

2. BEGIN TEXT. PRESIDENT NIXON IS EN ROUTE FOR EUROPE, AND WHAT IS PERHAPS MORE IMPORTANT FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW, IS GOING TO MOSCOW. PRESIDENT NIXON IS UNDER STRESS AND IT MAY BE THAT HE WOULD WISH TO SHORE UP HIS POSITION AT HOME IN THE CONTEXT OF WATERGATE WITH SOME SORT OF FOREIGN POLICY SUCCESS IN THE CONTEXT OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS SIMILAR TO THE SUCCESS THAT DR. KISSINGER HAS ACHIEVED IN THE MIDDLE EAST.

I THINK THIS, AS A EUROPEAN ASSEMBLY, MUST IDENTIFY AND FOCUS ON THOSE INTERESTS IN THESE THREE ON-GOING CONFERENCES (SALT MBFR CSCE) WHICH ARE ESPECIALLY EUROPEAN, BECAUSE WERE ANY COMPROMISES TO BE MADE IN MOSCOW OR ELSEWHERE, THEY COULD BE MADE ONLY AT THE EXPENSE OF EUROPEAN INTERESTS.

AS TO SALT, (ALTHOUGH) IT APPEARS THAT ANY PROGRESS ON THE MIRV FRONT IS UNLIKELY, THERE IS A RISK OF COMPROMISE ON THESE THREE OTHER MATTERS FOR NEGOTIATION, EACH ONE OF WHICH WILL BEAR UPON THE INTERESTS OF EUROPE HERSELF.

IT MAY BE THAT THERE WILL BE A DISCUSSION IN MOSCOW ON THE UNITED STATES' FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS AND THAT THE RUSSIANS WOULD WISH SOME SORT OF COMPROMISE TO BE MADE THERE. WERE THIS TO BECOME A MATTER FOR NEGOTIATION BETWEEN THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION, IT COULD ONLY HAPPEN IF THE SOVIET MRBM'S IN WESTERN RUSSIA, WHICH ARE AIMED AT EUROPE AND NOT THE UNITED STATES, WERE ALSO INCLUDED IN ANY SUCH DISCUSSIONS.

THERE IS ALSO THE SOVIET AMBITION TO INCLUDE THE UNITED KINGDOM AND FRENCH STRATEGIC FORCES IN THE

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PAGE 03 PARIS 15216 01 OF 02 211919Z

WESTERN NUCLEAR FORCES AS A WHOLE. SO FAR THE UNITED STATES HAS RESISTED THIS TEMPTATION, AND WE HOPE THEY WILL CONTINUE TO DO SO.

THIRDLY, THE RUSSIANS MIGHT SUGGEST AN AGREEMENT THAT WOULD PREVENT THE UNITED STATES FROM TRANSFERRING THE NUCLEAR WEAPONS AND INFORMATION TO THIRD PARTIES. THIS CLEARLY WOULD IMPINGE UPON EUROPE'S INTERESTS.

SALT IS PROBABLY THE MOST IMPORTANT OF THE THREE ON-
GOING CONFERENCES AND IT IS THE ONLY ONE AT WHICH
EUROPE IS NOT REPRESENTED.

... (ON MBFR) IT IS GOOD SENSE TO SEEK A REDUCTION
OF UNITED STATES AND RUSSIAN FORCES, FIRST BECAUSE THERE
IS A DISTINCT EUROPEAN INTEREST IN THE COURSE THAT THE
NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD TAKE -- AN INTEREST SEPARATE FROM
THAT OF THE UNITED STATES. RUSSIA AND THE UNITED

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PAGE 01 PARIS 15216 02 OF 02 211925Z

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UNCLAS SECTION 02 OF 02 PARIS 15216

STATES SHOULD TAKE THE FIRST STEPS TO SHOW THE
FEASIBILITY OF THE WHOLE NEGOTIATION, BECAUSE THEY
ARE WITHDRAWING FROM OUR TERRITORIES BUT ARE TO
WITHDRAW ONLY A SMALL PROPORTION OF TOTAL FORCES.
CLEARLY, ANY CONCESSION THAT MIGHT BE MADE ELSEWHERE
MIGHT BE MADE AT THE EXPENSE OF EUROPEAN INTERESTS,
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PAGE 02 PARIS 15216 02 OF 02 211925Z

BECAUSE EUROPEAN INTERESTS AT VIENNA ARE SEPARATE FROM
THE INTERESTS OF THE UNITED STATES.

THE CSCE, THE BEAUTY COMPETITION BETWEEN CLOSED
AND OPEN SOCIETIES WHICH HAS BEEN TAKING PLACE IN
GENEVA AND IN HELSINKI, HAS BEEN GOING ON FOR MANY
MONTHS, BUT THE RUSSIANS AND THE AMERICANS ARE IN
A HURRY TO WIND UP PROCEEDINGS BY JULY SO THAT HEADS
OF STATE CAN GO TO HELSINKI TO PUT THEIR SIGNATURE TO
A DOCUMENT. BUT AT GENEVA, EUROPE WOULD APPEAR TO
HAVE INTERESTS OF HER OWN -- ONE POSITIVE, THE OTHER
NEGATIVE. THE NEGATIVE EUROPEAN INTEREST IS TO

PREVENT THE RUSSIANS FROM WINNING THE RIGHT TO BE
CONSULTED OVER THE EVOLUTION OF THE COMMUNITY --
SOMETHING WHICH IF IT CAME ABOUT WOULD ONLY MAKE ITS
CONTRIBUTION TO THE "FINLANDISATION" OF EUROPE. IT IS
FOR THIS REASON THAT EUROPE SHOULD REGARD WITH GREAT
SUSPICION RUSSIAN DESIRES FOR THE SETTING UP OR
CREATION OF SOME SORT OF PERMANENT MACHINERY ONCE THE
WHOLE BUSINESS IS WOUND UP.

THE POSITIVE INTEREST IS TO BARGAIN TH CONCLUSION OF
GENEVA NEGOTIATIONS AGAINST RUSSIAN CONCESSIONS IN THE
"THIRD BASKET" -- WHICH, AS WE ALL KNOW, INVOLVES FREER
MOVEMENT OF IDEAS AND PEOPLE BETWEEN EASTERN AND WESTERN
EUROPE. SO FAR THE RUSSIANS HAVE MADE NO CONCESSIONS
WHATEVER ON THE "THIRD BASKET", HOWEVER MODEST WESTERN
PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN. WE WOULD DECEIVE MILLIONS OF
PEOPLE IN EASTERN EUROPE AND BETRAY OUR OWN INTERESTS
WERE WE TO SIGN IN A HURRY AN AGREEMENT AT GENEVA
THAT WOULD NOT OBLIGE SOME GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET
UNION TOWARDS THE GRANT OF FUNDAMENTAL
HUMAN RIGHTS TO ONE HUNDRED MILLION EUROPEANS WHO
HAPPEN TO LIVE EAST OF THE GREAT DIVIDE. IT IS IN THIS
RESPECT THAT WE MUST MAKE NO CONCESSIONS AT ALL,

BECAUSE WE, NOT THE RUSSIANS, ARE IN THE POWERFUL
POSITION. IF THERE IS NO SIGNATURE, NO DECLARATION AT
HELSINKI, IF DEVELOPMENTS HAVE TO GO ON IN GENEVA FOR
ANOTHER YEAR, SO BE IT, FOR AT LEAST WE ARE IN A STRONG
NEGOTIATING POSITION. END TEXT.

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PAGE 03 PARIS 15216 02 OF 02 211925Z

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